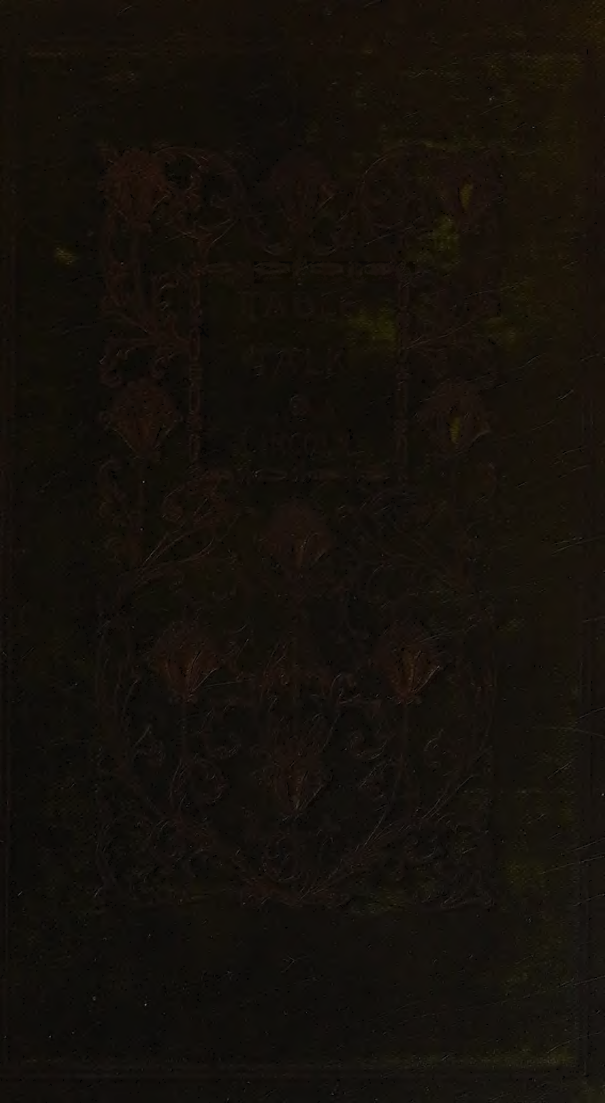

Don't be afraid to ___
shock the breech -
it is harmless. Never
not guaranteed to
be especially pleas
ing -

LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1861.

# The Table Talk OF Abraham Lincoln

EDITED BY

WILLIAM O. STODDARD

*One of his Private Secretaries, and author of "Abraham Lincoln, the True Story of a Great Life," etc.*

Illustrated by C. Moore-Smith

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# TABLE TALK

OF

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EDITED BY

WILLIAM O. STODDARD,

*One of his Private Secretaries* 1861-4.

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THE history of the world presents us with innumerable instances of men, holding positions of power over current affairs, whose verbal or written utterances were among the apparent forces of the time to which they belonged. With the passing away of the circumstances, the peculiar features of their field of action, a winnowing process becomes at once observable, and much which was at first deemed worthy of preservation is seen to have lost its importance; it has no

enduring relation to history or to any probable action to be taken by other men, in later times and under other circumstances. It is not always well to say that the greatness of these men from whose utterances all life departs in this manner, was altogether attached to the greatness of the occasions in which they acted. It may be more nearly true to say that their personalities, however large, were absorbed by the greatness of their circumstances, so that nothing was left for human memory of them when their surroundings passed away.

The list is very short, of men whose words remain in the minds of men for any length of time after the tomb has closed upon their public services, but very prominent in this short list is the name of Abraham Lincoln. He not only

did things but said and wrote things which cannot be forgotten. It is entirely probable that, in future crises of the national life which owes so much to him, thoughtful patriots will find themselves going back to the record of his counsels, for wisdom and for strength, as to some well of unselfish patriotism, digged by a patriarch of the Republic in a time of unsurpassed trial and drouth.

In other times, not of trial at all, but of the ordinary life of each successive generation, moreover, there is a certain education, of no small value, to be gained by familiarity with the process of thought and feeling of the man who was enabled to endure so much and to act so well. All smaller and especially all younger patriotisms have much to learn or to acquire from his own, like watches which should

be set to keep the true time—if they can.

One measure or indication of the greatness of his personality, separated from the circumstances in which he lived, is to be found in the fact that at this day all men regard him as belonging, now, to the entire nation. During a part of his lifetime, he was nominally the chief of a political party, the foremost figure in a prolonged conflict that was full of the utmost rancor of opposing factions. After that, he became the director of the military and other forces upon one side of a long and sanguinary civil war, and during the years of its continuance and even for a brief period afterwards, the animosities of that terrible struggle seemed to concentrate their bitterness upon him. Nevertheless, few as are the years since the termination of his

public services, his name has risen above all that tumult, like a star rising above a subsiding sea, and any idea of partisanship, or even of sectionalism, has faded away from the popular perception of his character.

It is more and more clearly manifest that Lincoln is so readily understood because of the extreme simplicity of his nature and of his consequent action. For example, nobody would deny that he was ambitious, in the sense that ambition is common to all vigorous, aspiring men, but there is a settled and general belief, or rather perception, that anything in the nature of personal or selfish ambition was burned away in the furnace through which he passed and that its idea must now detach from his memory.

Many and important as were the matters and measures he dealt with

during the stormy years of his official service, his state papers, properly so called, were few. Hardly one of them falls short, however, of being in itself an important feature in the record of the time, for all were as forces set in action and producing perceptible results. Their condensed style, their freedom from anything like rhetorical ornament, their close connection with public business and its details, render them, for the greater part unavailable for brief quotation purposes. Nevertheless, the popular mind has here and there discovered, severed and preserved wise utterances which have become almost as household words.

Some of Lincoln's speeches, before his election as President, possess a similar value for they are at once state papers, generally regarded as such, then and afterwards,

and they are also as historical landmarks, measuring periods in the progress of events.

His correspondence, while yet a private citizen, was free but not copious, and the interest attaching to such specimens of it as have been preserved is mainly personal or biographical. After he became the chief magistrate of the nation, he almost ceased to write personal letters, or even to read them. He seemed to have no longer any interests, hardly any thoughts, apart from the duties and endurances of his official position. The few letters that he did write were almost as if they had been addressed to the nation, rather than to individuals, and some of their words may be treasured as public heirlooms.

A study of the utterances which are now regarded as peculiarly expressing his wisdom, his developed

character, or his convictions concerning truth, discovers the fact that hardly any of them are of any earlier date than the year 1856. Very nearly all that are of marked importance belong to the last seven years of his life. They seem to attest that, in comparison with this period, the years of his greatest public service and personal trial, all the years preceding it were short. There were certainly more than forty years that were as youth, as schooling, as varied methods of preparation. Afterwards, the mere almanac-measure became of less account and it is by no means a mere figure of speech to say that he had lived long and was older than other men when he died,—at fifty-six.

Wide as was Lincoln's fame as an orator, comparatively few of his political speeches were reported. Even

the great speech, by some declared his greatest, in its power and consequences, delivered before the Bloomington Convention, in 1856, found no record whatever. It was the beginning of his new career, and, after that, whatever he said, was considered worth preserving.

This latter idea soon extended to many sayings which were of a conversational nature, and in dealing with any pointed presentation of them it is necessary to take into consideration the trustworthiness of the hearer who recorded them. By this process, a large mass of mateials loosely attributed to Mr. Lincoln has been long since ruled out as, at best, apocryphal. Only such utterances as are believed to be authentic and fairly accurate in form of expression are included in this selection.

William O. Stoddard.

# OF THE UNION.

MANY of the utterances of Lincoln, both public and private, before and after he became President, and many of his more important public acts, can be better understood after accepting his own repeated assertions of his singleness of purpose. The very breadth of his perception of the nation's need and the unswerving character of his own determination, prevented his resulting policy from being either comprehended or approved by a multitude composed of both his friends and his enemies. Eager and enthusiastic men, some of them of great ability, felt sure and freely declared that they would do differently, that

is, better, if they were in his place. It is interesting, therefore, at this distance of time, to look back and see how much of his success in contending with manifold obstacles, was due to the fact that he never allowed himself to lose sight, for a moment, of the one paramount duty imposed upon him, the perpetuation of American nationality in its integrity. To this all other things, including the lives of men, white or black, the accustomed forms of statutory law, and even the apparently rigid barriers of the written Constitution, must be regarded as secondary. It is now almost evident that if he had thought and acted otherwise, success would have been impossible. For instance, if he had allowed himself to place the abolition of slavery first, serving a part instead of the whole, then the whole would have been lost, slavery

would not have been abolished and the result of the civil war would not have been what it now is, a permanent and forever increasing good to the people of the entire Union, to the South even more than to the North.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLS., JUNE 17, 1858.

"In my opinion it (the agitation of the slavery question) will not cease until a crisis has been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread

of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in process of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

REPLY TO MAYOR WOOD, NEW YORK, FEB. 20, 1861.

"There is nothing that could ever bring me to consent—willingly to consent—to the destruction of this Union, unless it would be that thing for which the Union was made. I understand that the ship is made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo; and so long as the ship is safe, with the cargo, it shall not be abandoned. This Union shall never be abandoned, unless the possibility of its existence shall cease to exist, without the necessity of throwing the passengers and

cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and liberties of this people can be preserved within this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1861.

"I hold that, in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all National Governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Government, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself."

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate; cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They must remain face to face, and intercourse, amicable or hostile, must continue between them."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1861.

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise the constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of

having the national constitution amended."

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, MARCH, 4, 1861.

"This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the general government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State."

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, MARCH 6, 1862.

"In the annual message, last December, I thought fit to say, 'The Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed.' I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been made and continues to be an indispensable means to this end."

EXPLANATORY MESSAGE TO CONGRESS,

May 29th, 1862, concerning the extraordinary powers of the Executive, exercised in the interim prior to the assembling of Congress upon July 4th, 1861. "Congress had definitely adjourned. There was no time to convene them. It became necessary for me to choose whether, using only the existing means, agencies and processes, which Congress had provided, I should let the government fall at once into ruin; or whether, availing myself of the broader powers conferred by the Constitution in cases of insurrection, I would make an effort to save it, with all its blessings, for the present age and for posterity."

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1861.

"The States have their *status* in the Union and they have no other

legal *status*. If they break from this they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a state constitution independent of the Union."

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1861.

"And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a consti-

tutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its integrity against its domestic foes. . . It forces us to ask, 'Is there in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people or too weak to maintain its own existence?'"

### MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER, 1862.

"A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain duration. 'One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever.' That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States, is well

adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide."

SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE, DEC. 1, 1862.

"Fellow Citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even *we*, *here*—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In *giving* freedom to

the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."

LETTER TO CUTHBERT BULLITT, NEW ORLEANS, JULY 27, 1862.

"I shall not do more than I can, but I shall do all I can to save the government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

IN AN ADDRESS TO SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BORDER STATES, AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, JULY, 1862.

"Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of

government is saved to the world; its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated! and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand."

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause.

"I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they are shown to be true views."

### RELATING TO THE UNION MEN OF WEST VIRGINIA, DEC. 31, 1862.

"It is said, the devil takes care of his own. Much more should a good spirit—the spirit of the Constitution and the Union—take care of its own. I think it cannot do less and live."

LETTER TO REVERDY JOHNSON, JULY 26, 1862.

"I am a patient man—always willing to forgive on the Christian terms of repentance, and also to give ample time for repentance. Still, I must save this government, if possible. What I cannot do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed."

REPLY TO THE WORKINGMEN OF LONDON, ENG., FEB. 2, 1863.

"The resources, advantages and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build

one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage."

### LETTER TO THE WORKINGMEN OF MANCHESTER, ENG., FEB. 9, 1863.

"When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election, to preside in the government of the United States, the country was found on the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosoever at fault, one duty, paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key of all the measures of administration which have been and to all which shall hereafter be pursued. Under our form of government, and my official oath, I could not depart from the purpose if I would.

It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the politics which they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt."

# OF MERCY.

LINCOLN was an embodiment of the general aversion of the American people to the taking away of human life. Blood is to be shed upon the battlefield, but with a continual assertion that war is in itself hateful. The death penalty may be inflicted, elsewhere, even in time of peace, but only under pressure of extreme circumstances and with ample justification. Much more than this was also true, however, and a number of Lincoln's most notable successes as a lawyer were won in defending almost hopeless men who were standing under the shadow of the gallows. When afterwards, he became endowed with an oppres-

sive abundance of pardoning power, it was not merely the exercise of it in many cases that so drew out to him the hearts of all merciful people :—it was the sympathetic eagerness with which he sought, from day to day, to rescue every man for whom he could conscientiously intervene. His personal resistance to the arguments for rigid discipline made by his military commanders ; his personal visits to the camps and tents and cells of the condemned ; the touching scenes, in his office at the White House, between him and those whose petitions for the pardon of culprits whom they loved he was struggling to grant or dreading to refuse ; all became known to his fellow-citizens as so many photographs of the man. Not all who were condemned could be spared, even by Lincoln, but in every case it must be recorded that

he did what he could. At the same time, he said but little, for the acts of mercy were enough, without explanation.

IN A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, JULY 27, 1862.

"The severest justice may not always be the best policy."

To an Illinois friend, asking pardon for a soldier condemned to be shot for a purely technical "desertion":

"Well, I think the boy can do us more good above ground than under ground."

On pardoning twenty-four desertions at once, all of whom were sentenced to be shot, he said to a general who objected, "Mercy to the few is cruelty to the many."

"Mr. General, there are already

too many weeping widows in the United States. For God's sake don't ask me to add to the number, for I won't do it."

To Gen. B. F. Butler, 1863, when the general asked for the pardon of a man whom he himself had sentenced to be shot:

"You? Asking me to pardon some poor fellow?—Give me that pen!"

After listening to a plea on behalf of a soldier condemned to death:

"Well!—I don't believe shooting will do him any good.—Give me that pen."

To a friend, who had obtained from him a pardon for a deserter:

"Some of our generals complain that I impair discipline and subordination in the army by my pardons and respites, but it makes me rested,

after a hard day's work, if I can find some good excuse for saving a man's life."

To a man who had applied for a pardon for his son, condemned to be shot. A direct pardon could not be given, under the circumstances, but the president had written :

"Job Smith is not to be shot until further orders from me,"—and the anxious father had begged for something more definite. Said Mr. Lincoln.

"Well, my old friend, I see you are not very well acquainted with me. If your son never looks on death till further orders come from me, to shoot him, he will live to be a great deal older than Methusaleh."

LETTER TO J. G. HODGES, FRANKFORT, KY., APRIL 4, 1864, CONCERNING EMANCIPATION.

"Was it possible to lose the

nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life, but a life is never wisely given to save a limb."

# OF HUMOR.

A great deal has been said of Lincoln's keen appreciation of the wit and humor of others and of his own faculty for employing wit and humor, and even broad burlesque as an orator and in conversation. It is very nearly true, however, that he rarely told a joke or even a good story for its own sake,—for mere amusement. Their value to him was rather illustrative, or to sharpen the point of an argument, or to expose a weakness in the position taken by an adversary. To this is due the fact that so few of his good hits have been preserved or can be made to present their original quality apart from the

persons and the circumstances. No special effort has here been made, therefore, to collect the shrewd, or dry, or caustic utterances which made some men laugh and others wince.

He found yet another important use in his faculty for enjoying the ludicrous and of being amused by the grotesque. It brought him exceedingly helpful relief.

One morning, in 1862, when the hearts of all men were heavy, an Ohio Congressman, a personal friend, called to see him with reference to important affairs. Before making any other response, the president began to tell a humorous story that seemed to fit and his friend arose at once exclaiming:

"Mr. President, I did not come here, this morning, to hear stories; it is too serious a time!"

"Ashley," responded Lincoln,

quickly, "sit down! I respect you, as an earnest, sincere man. You cannot be more anxious than I have been, constantly, since the beginning of the war; and I say to you, now, that were it not for this occasional vent, I should die!"

Strictly in keeping with this is the otherwise incongruous, inexplicable fact that when he called his cabinet together to read to them his draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, he began by reading to them a chapter from "Artemas Ward, His Book," and laughing heartily at its crude grotesqueries. At the end of that chapter, his overstrained mind had recovered its tone.

Mr. Lincoln once remarked to Mr. Noah Brooks:

"I remember a good story when I hear it, but I never invented any-

thing original: I am only a retail dealer."

At the very outset of the war, sundry wise men from New York urged Mr. Lincoln to draw away Confederate armies from Washington by naval attacks upon Southern seaports. It reminded him, he said, of a New Salem, Ills. girl, who was troubled with a "singing in her head," for which there seemed to be no remedy, but a neighbor promised a cure if they would "make a plaster of psalm tunes and apply to her feet and draw the singing down."

At the time when General Burnside's force was besieged in Knoxville, Tenn., with an apparent danger of being starved into surrender, a telegram came one day, from Cumberland Gap, announcing that

"Firing is heard in the direction of Knoxville."

"Glad of it!" exclaimed Mr. Lincoln.

"Why should you be glad of it?" asked a friend who was present, in some surprise.

"Why, you see," he explained, "it reminds me of Mrs. Sallie Ward, a neighbor of mine. She had a very large family. Occasionally one of her numerous progeny would be heard crying, in some out-of-the-way place and she would exclaim, 'There's one of my children that isn't dead yet!'"

A gentleman from California, a firm supporter of the government, had tried to obtain a pass through the lines to visit a brother in Virginia who was also a Union man. Having failed to obtain any deviation from the army regulations, he

called upon the President with his petition.

"Have you applied to General Halleck?" asked Mr. Lincoln.

"Yes, and met with a flat refusal."

"Then you must see Stanton."

"I have," said the applicant ruefully, "and the result was the same."

"Well, then," said Mr. Lincoln, "I can do nothing; for you must know that I have very little influence with this Administration."

No doubt Mr. Lincoln sufficiently appreciated the good qualities of ex-President Fillmore, then living, but a mention of him, one evening, brought out a shot at the Vice-Presidential succession.

"Just after Taylor's death, when Fillmore succeeded him, Fillmore needed to buy a carriage. Some gentleman here was breaking up

housekeeping and had one for sale and Fillmore took Edward (the old doorkeeper of the White House) with him, when he went to look at it. It seemed to be a pretty good turnout, but Fillmore looked it carefully over and then asked Edward, 'How do you think it will do for the President of the United States to ride in a second-hand carriage?'

"'Sure, your Excellency,' replied Edward, 'you're ownly a siccond-hand Prisident, you know.'"

At the very last, when the armies of the Confederacy were surrendering or disbanding, the question was asked Mr. Lincoln:

"What will you do with 'Jeff Davis'?"

"Well," replied Mr. Lincoln, "there was a boy in Springfield who saved up his money and bought

a 'coon, but, after the novelty wore off, it became a great nuisance. He was one day leading him through the streets and had his hands full to keep clear of the little vixen, who had torn his clothes half off of him. At length he sat down on the curbstone, completely fagged out. A man passing was stopped by the lad's disconsolate appearance, and asked what was the matter.

"Oh," said the boy, "this 'coon's such a trouble to me."

"Why don't you get rid of him then?" asked the sympathizer.

"Hush," said the boy, "don't you see he is gnawing his rope off? I'm going to let him do it, and then I'll go home and tell the folks he got away from me."

Mr. Alexander H. Stephens relates that during the famous "peace conference," on a steamer in Hamp-

ton Roads, between President Lincoln and the three Confederate Commissioners, one of them, Mr. Hunter, insisted that the recognition of the power of President Jefferson Davis to make a treaty was the first and indispensable step to peace. He referred to the correspondence between Charles I. and his Parliament as a trustworthy precedent of a constitutional ruler dealing with rebels.

Mr. Lincoln put on an expression of grim, sarcastic humor as he replied:

"Upon questions of history, I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don't pretend to be bright. My only distinct recollection of the matter is that Charles lost his head."

Not a great while before Mr. Lincoln's second nomination, a friend

mentioned to him the well-known fact that a member of the Cabinet was also a probable presidential candidate :

"You were brought up on a farm, were you not ?" he replied. "Then you know what a 'chin-fly' is. My brother and I were once ploughing on an Illinois farm. I was driving the horse and he was holding the plough. The horse was lazy ; but on one occasion he rushed across the field so that I with my long legs could scarcely keep up with him. On reaching the end of the furrow, I found an enormous chin-fly fastened on him and knocked it off. My brother asked me what I did that for. I told him I didn't want the old horse bitten in that way. 'Why,' said my brother, 'that's all that made him go !' Now if Mr. —— has a presidential chin-fly biting him, I'm not going

to knock it off, if it will only make his Department go."

Among the European soldiers who from time to time came over and offered to serve in the Union armies was one young man who; on receiving his commission as lieutenant, assured the President that he belonged to the oldest nobility of Germany. "Oh!" replied Mr. Lincoln. "Never mind that. You will not find that to be an obstacle to your advancement."

Mr. Lincoln was one day asked:

"How many men do you suppose the Confederates have now in the field?"

"Twelve hundred thousand, according to the best authority," was the prompt reply.

"Good Heavens!" exclaimed the inquirer.

"Yes, sir, twelve hundred thousand. No doubt of it. You see, all our generals, when they get whipped, say the enemy outnumbers them from three or five to one, and I must believe them. We have four hundred thousand in the field and three times four makes twelve. Don't you see it?"

The result of the great conflict seemed to be in more doubt than ever, just after the Emancipation Proclamation. Mr. Lincoln expressed his own view of the situation with: "We are a good deal like whalers who have been long on a chase. At last we have got our harpoon fairly into the monster; but we must look out how we steer, or with one flop of his tail he will yet send us all into eternity!"

During one of the long periods

of inaction of the Army of the Potomac, the President remarked to a corps-commander and another gentleman with whom he was discussing military matters :

" If something is not done pretty soon, the bottom will fall out of the whole affair, and if General McClellan doesn't want to use the army, I'd like to borrow it of him— provided I could see how it could be made to do something."

While General Grant's ability as a commander was yet in doubt, a storm of criticisms assailed him. At one time during the siege of Vicksburg, a delegation of his critics waited upon the President and vigorously demanded the substitution of some other general.

" Well, well," responded Mr. Lincoln, " but why should Grant be removed ? "

"Why? Why, he drinks too much whiskey."

That particular accusation had been withheld until that moment, but now the President's face put on its most caustic expression as he responded: "Ah! that's it! By the way, gentlemen, can either of you tell me where General Grant gets his whiskey? I think I'd better send a barrel of that whiskey to every general in the field."

Mr. Lincoln had several reasons for not admiring ex-President Tyler and a mention of him on one occasion brought out an anecdote.

"A year or two after Tyler's accession to the Presidency," said Mr. Lincoln, "contemplating an excursion in some direction, his son went to order a special train of cars. It so happened that the railroad superintendent was a very strong

Whig. On 'Bob's' making known his errand, that official promptly informed him that his road did not run special trains for the President.

"'What,' said Bob, 'did you not furnish a special train for the funeral of General Harrison?'

"'Yes,' said the superintendent, stroking his whiskers; 'and if you will only bring your father here in that shape, you shall have the best train on the road.'"

Concerning the probable political strength of one of the presidential candidates, in 1864, Mr. Lincoln gravely read to a friend the account in 1 Samuel, of David's forces at the Cave of Adulam:

"'And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain

over them, and there were with him about four hundred men.'"

SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL UNION LEAGUE, JUNE 9, 1864.

"I have not permitted myself, gentlemen, to conclude that I am the best man in the country (for President); but I am reminded in this connection of a story of an old Dutch farmer who remarked to a companion once that 'it was not best to swap horses while crossing a stream.'"

Letter to D. R. Locke, 1863;—a satirical journalist whose hits he had much enjoyed:

"Why don't you come to Washington and see me? Is there any place you want? Come on, and I will give you any place you ask for —that you are capable of filling— and fit to fill."

CONVERSATION WITH D. R. LOCKE, 1863.

"It's a good thing for individuals (generals and others in office) that there is a government to shove over their acts upon. No man's shoulders are broad enough to bear what must be."

The chairman of an enthusiastic delegation of emancipationists was a clergyman who plied him heavily with scriptural quotations.

"Well, gentlemen," replied Mr. Lincoln, "it is not often one is favored with a delegation direct from the Almighty."

The British Minister, Lord Lyons, was very much liked by Mr. Lincoln. He was a bachelor. When the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra of Denmark required announcement, as an affair of state, the duty was performed

ceremoniously, with an autograph letter from Queen Victoria to the President of the United States, and with a very neat and cordial international address from the minister. The response expected was such as might be sent by a president to a Queen, but Mr. Lincoln listened to the speech, to the end, and then his face lit up with friendly fun as he replied :

"Lord Lyons, go thou and do likewise."

# OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

VERY soon after the outbreak of the civil war, the entire American people discovered, with more or less individual astonishment, that their form of government contained powers not ordinarily exercised, the operation of which they had never before experienced.

There was a prompt and altogether righteous inquiry into the source and nature of these powers. Following this was a well founded and very general anxiety lest, after their temporary exercise in a war emergency, there might not be a perfect return to their old time quies-

cent state, leaving the liberties of the people permanently unabridged in time of peace.

There were stormy, acrimonious protests against every unaccustomed restriction of individual freedom, even for war purposes, and the political opposition to the Lincoln administration assumed a watchful censorship. On the other hand, Lincoln himself asserted his own position and purpose as the constitutionally appointed guardian of all the rights and liberties affected by the temporary exercise of the special powers in his hands. Not only his official acts but his repeated utterances were a sufficient preventive of injurious consequences which might otherwise have been produced. He watched against the supposed peril more jealously than did even his critics themselves, and, long before the end, the public mind rested,

satisfied that their treasure of personal liberty was safe in his keeping.

LECTURE, AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLS., JAN. 27, 1837.

"I know the American people are much attached to their government. I know they would suffer much for its sake. I know they would endure evils, long and patiently, before they would ever think of changing it for another. Yet, notwithstanding all this, if the laws be continually despised and disregarded; if their rights to be secure in their persons and property are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of their affections from the government is the natural consequence, and to that, sooner or later, it must come. There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob-law."

SPEECH AT ALTON, ILLS., OCT. 15, 1858.

"It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American Colonies, that all men are created equal. Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration; and it is desirable, in the original organization of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great, fundamental principle. But then, I apprehend that in no society that ever did exist, or ever shall be formed, was or can the equality asserted be practically enforced and carried out."

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILLS. OCT. 17, 1858.

"What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."

SPEECH AT LEWISTON, AUG. 17, 1858.

"This (the Declaration of Independence) was their lofty and noble and wise understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures, —to all his creatures, to the whole, great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted, by its fellows. They grasped not only the whole race of men then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the remotest posterity. . . . So that no man should hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles upon which the temple of liberty was being built."

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILLS., OCT. 17, 1858.

"That is the real issue. . . . It is the eternal struggle between these two principles,— right and

wrong,— throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time ; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings."

SPEECH AT CHICAGO, ILLS., JULY 10, 1858.

"My friend has said to me that I am a poor hand to quote Scripture. I will try it again, however. It is said in one of the admonitions of our Lord : 'As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect.' The Saviour, I suppose, did not expect any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven ; but he said : 'As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect.' He set that up as a standard, and he who did most toward reaching that standard, attained the highest de-

gree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature."

LETTER TO A FRIEND, 1859, AFTER THE ELECTION.

"The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one, or even one hundred defeats."

LETTER TO HON. O. H. BROWNING, ILLS., SEP. 21, 1862, CONCERNING THE PROCLAMATION OF CONFISCATION ISSUED BY GEN. J. C. FREMONT.

"It is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the United States—any govern-

ment of constitution and laws—wherein a general or a President may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?"

SPEECH AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 20, 1861.

"I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the burden should be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1861.

"Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form, is all that is left."

LETTER TO HON. REVERDY JOHNSON, THEN AT NEW ORLEANS, JULY 26, 1862.

"The people of Louisiana—all intelligent people, everywhere—know full well that I never had a wish to touch the foundations of their society, or any right of theirs."

LETTER TO CHARLES DRAKE, AND OTHERS, COMMITTEE, ST. LOUIS, MO., OCT. 5, 1863.

"Actual war coming, blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures, deemed indispensable but harsh at best, such men make worse by mal-administration. Murders for all grudges and murders for pelf proceed under any cloak that will best serve for the occasion."

LETTER TO GENERAL CURTIS, MO., JAN. 2, 1863.

"But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church, or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

REPLY TO NEW YORK DEMOCRATS, JUNE 12, 1863.

"I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a par-

ticular drug is not good for a sick man because it can be shown to be not good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the laws of evidence, trial by jury and *habeas corpus* throughout the indefinite peaceful future, which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding on them during the remainder of his healthful life."

### REPLY TO NEW YORK DEMOCRATS, JUNE 12, 1863.

"*Habeas corpus* does not dis-

charge men who are proven to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved guilty of defined crime, 'when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.'"

### REPLY TO LETTER FROM OHIO DEMOCRATS, JULY 29, 1863.

"The Constitution is different in its application in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety, from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because by the Constitution itself things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other."

### CONCERNING THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, WHEN URGED TO SUPPRESS THE CHICAGO TIMES.

"I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. Nothing but the sternest necessity can ever justify it. A government had better go to the extreme of toleration, than do aught that can be construed into an interference with, or to jeopardize in any degree, the common rights of its citizens."

### SPEECH AT THE BALTIMORE FAIR, APRIL 18, 1864.

"The world is in want of a good definition of the word liberty. We all declare ourselves to be for liberty, but we do not all mean the same thing. Some mean that a man can do as he pleases with himself and his property. With others it means that some men can do as they please with other men and

other men's labor. Each of these things is called liberty, although they are entirely different. To give an illustration: A shepherd drives the wolf from the throat of his sheep when attacked by him, and the sheep of course thanks the shepherd for the protection of his life; but the wolf denounces him as despoiling the sheep of his liberty—especially if it be a black sheep."

### REPLY TO MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH, AUGUST, 1864.

"I accept with gratitude their assurances of the sympathy and support of that enlightened, influential, and loyal class of my fellow-citizens, in an important crisis which involves, in my judgment, not only the civil and religious liberties of our own dear land, but in a large degree the civil and religious liber-

ties of mankind in many countries and through many ages."

SPEECH AT A SERENADE, SEPT., 1864.

"I wish it might be more generally and universally understood what the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free country, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man. In this great struggle the form of government and every form of human right is endangered if our enemies succeed. There is more involved in this contest than is realized by every one. There is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed."

TO AN OHIO REGIMENT, SEPT., 1864.

"I happen, temporarily to occupy this big White House. I am a

living witness that any of your children may look to come here, as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations—it is for this that the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthrights."

GETTYSBURG SPEECH, NOV. 19, 1863.

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain;—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom;—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

### SPEECH AT AN ELECTION SERENADE, NOV. 10, 1864.

"It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of the people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. But the election . . . has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."

### SPEECH AT A SERENADE, OCT. 19, 1864.

"Their (the people's) will, constitutionally expressed, is the ultimate law for all. If they should deliberately resolve to have immediate peace, even at the expense of their country and their liberties, I have not the power nor the right to resist them. It is their own business,

and they must do as they please with their own. I believe, however, they are still resolved to preserve their country and their liberty; and in this office I am resolved to stand by them."

### ADDRESS TO THE 149TH OHIO REGIMENT, FALL OF 1864.

"But this government must be preserved, in spite of the acts of any man or set of men. It is worthy your every effort. Nowhere in the world is presented a government of so much liberty and equality. To the humblest and poorest amongst us are held out the highest privileges and positions. The present moment finds me at the White House, yet there is as good a chance for your children as there was for my father's."

# OF LABOR.

MR. LINCOLN began life as a day laborer, under the hardest conditions, toiling for scanty and often uncertain wages. The bond of fellowship between him and all other workingmen, the world over, was never broken. They were peculiarly his people, and it was for them and with them that he believed himself to be still working. That they understood him and continually regarded him as one of themselves, was a most important element in his political influence, in his power to control and direct national affairs. There was, however, so little of the demagogue in his nature that he simply took their

appreciation for granted and his utterances concerning labor and laboring men were brief and few in number."

SPEECH AT CINCINNATI, O., SEPT., 1859.

"That there is a certain relation between capital and labor, I admit. That it does exist, and rightfully exists, I think is true. That men who are industrious, and sober, and honest, in the pursuit of their own interests, should after awhile accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace, and also, if they should choose, when they have accumulated it, to use it to save themselves from actual labor and hire other people to labor for them, is right. In doing so they do not wrong the men they employ, for they find men who have not of their own land to work on or

shops to work in, and who are benefited by working for others, as hired laborers, receiving their capital for it. Thus, a few men that own capital hire a few others, and these establish the relations of capital and labor rightfully. A relation of which I make no complaint. But I insist that the relation after all does not embrace more than one eighth of the labor of the country."

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DEC., 1861.

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."

ANNUAL MESSAGE, DEC., 1861.

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty,—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty he lost."

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE OF THE WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, MAR. 21, 1864.

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or

the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good to the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and, hence, is just encouragement to energy and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

### LAST PUBLIC UTTERANCE OF MR. LINCOLN, APRIL 4, 1865.

"Mr. Colfax:—I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit. I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it is practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the western country, from the Rocky Mountains to

the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were adding a couple of millions of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals, we had the country to save first. But now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine, we make the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now, I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry, by furnishing suddenly, a greater supply of labor than there will be a demand for. I am going to try to attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain

ranges, where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that wait for them in the West. Tell the miners for me, that I shall promote their interests to the best of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation; and we shall prove, in a few years, that we are indeed the treasury of the world."

# OF SLAVERY.

THE present generation of Americans can hardly obtain a correct idea of the difficulties attending the position of an anti-slavery man during the years immediately preceding the civil war.

The most moderate opponents of the existing order of things were sure to be misunderstood and misrepresented. The very nature of the institution itself compelled it to be aggressive. Unless it could continually grow, it must die, like a plant attaining its maturity. The unreasoning bitterness of the political conflict which was waged on behalf of it finds its best index in the fact of the civil war itself. Mr.

Lincoln's own aversion to slavery began in his youth and grew with his growth, but he at no time refused to see and acknowledge every, justice belonging, in law or in equity to the people of the southern States. While he was always in advance of the great mass of his fellow-citizens, and even of his own party, he was never a zealot, never incapable of appreciating the inherited views and interests of his adversaries.

In his perception, justice to all, the best good of all, white men or colored, demanded the preservation of the national integrity, in one government of one country. To this all other considerations were secondary, for it contained the future as well as the present, and for this every imaginable sacrifice of treasure, of suffering and of life itself, was to be freely made. To this central thought and purpose,

therefore, all his utterances concerning the colored race, their bondage or their emancipation, can be readily adjusted.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, JUNE, 1857.

"In those days, our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed, sneered at, construed, hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it. All the powers of the earth seem rapidly combining against him. Mammon is after him; ambition follows; philosophy follows; and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in his prison-house; they have searched his person and left no prying instrument with him. One after another,

they have closed the heavy iron doors upon him; and now they have him, as it were, bolted in, with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the consent of every key; the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places; and they stand musing as to what invention, in all the dominions of mind and matter, can be produced to make the impossibility of his escape more complete than it is."

SPEECH AT QUINCY, ILL., OCT. 13, 1858.

"We have in this nation this element of domestic slavery. It is an absolute certainty that it is a disturbing element. It is the opinion of all the great men who have expressed an opinion upon it, that it is a dangerous element. We keep up a controversy in regard to it.

That controversy necessarily springs from difference of opinion, and if we can learn exactly—can reduce to the lowest elements—what that difference of opinion is, we shall be better prepared for discussing the different systems of policy that we would propose in regard to that disturbing element. I suggest that the difference of opinion, reduced to its lowest terms, is no other than the difference between the men who think slavery a wrong and those who do not think it wrong."

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILL., OCT. 16, 1858.

"The doctrine of self-government is right,—absolutely and eternally right,—but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application, depends upon whether a negro is not, or is a man. If he is not a man, in that

case he who is a man may as a matter of self-government do just what he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is despotism."

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, 1858.

"I hold that notwithstanding all this there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas that he is not my equal, in many

respects,—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment; but in the right to eat the bread without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."

SPEECH, 1858.

"I do not mean to say that when it (slavery) takes a turn toward ultimate extinction, it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time, I have no doubt."

### REPLY TO AN ADDRESS OF COLORED MEN AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, AUG. 14, 1862.

"It is a cheering thought, throughout life, that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usage of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the Great God who made him. In the American Revolutionary war, sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. General Washington himself endured greater physical hardships than if he had remained a British subject, yet he was a happy man, because he was benefiting his race ;—in doing something for the children of his neighbors, having none of his own."

### LETTER TO GOVERNOR HAHN OF LOUISIANA, WITH REFERENCE TO RECONSTRUCTION IN 1863.

"Now, you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom."

### OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION—REMARKS TO THE CHICAGO DEPUTATION, SEPT. 13, 1862.

"I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement. And I can assure you that

the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do!"

CONVERSATIONALLY, SEPT., 1864.

"There's just one thing I want to say. The war is nearly over. Just when it will end, I can't say, but it won't be a great while. Then the government forces must be withdrawn from all the Southern States. Sooner or later, we must take them all away. Now, what I want you to do is this: do all you can, in any and every way you can, to get the ballot into the hands of the freedmen! We must make voters of them before we take away the troops. The ballot will be their only protection after the bayonet is gone, and they will be sure to need all they can get. I can see just how it will be.—Will you?"

# OF THE CIVIL WAR.

MR. LINCOLN was, under the Constitution, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, yet neither the one nor the other was in existence on the day when he took the oath of office and assumed the responsibility of defending the life of the Republic. Almost his first duty was to call out and arm soldiers and to obtain and equip vessels of war. No other president, excepting Washington, was ever compelled to be actually the general-in-chief, supervising, if need should be, all subordinate generals. His communications with commanders in the field were more complete than was

at any time possible before the creation of the military telegraph-system. They were, for altogether the greater part, conducted through the War Office, including, with the Secretary of War, the successive ranking generals, from Scott to Grant. There were a few written epistles, mere epistolary dispatches, perpetual inquiry, counsel, encouragement, but now that the occasions for them and the communications themselves have been subjected to careful study and analysis, the positions taken and the advice or directions given by the president are wonderfully vindicated. All that his contemporary critics described as his "interference with military affairs," may be better summed up in the language of General Grant, May 1, 1864. "From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the pres-

ent day, I have never had cause of complaint . . . . I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked." Apart from direct communications with military commanders, relating to campaign operations, there were many things said of a more general nature, conversationally and publicly, and many things written, which exhibit the character of the man, and suggest his methods of dealing with his multiform and trying circumstances.

SPEECH AT CINCINNATI, O., SEPT., 1859.

"The good old maxims of the Bible are applicable, and truly applicable, to human affairs, and in this, as in other things, we may say here that he who is not for us is against us; he who gathereth not with us scattereth."

REPLY TO ONE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE PEACE CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, FEB. 24, 1861.

"In a choice of evils, war may not always be the worst. Still, I would do all in my power to avert it, except to neglect a Constitutional duty."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1861.

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better, or equal, hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right?"

CONVERSATIONAL, 1861.

"This is our own affair. It is a family quarrel with which foreign nations have nothing to do, and they must let it alone."

CONVERSATION, NOV. 15, 1861.

"My own impression is . . . . that this Government possesses both the authority and the power to maintain its own integrity. That, however, is not the ugly point of this matter. The ugly point is the necessity of keeping the Government together by force, as ours should be a Government of fraternity."

FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DEC. 3, 1862.

"A nation which endures factious domestic divisions, is exposed to disrespect abroad; and one party, if not both, is sure, sooner or later, to invoke foreign intervention. Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the councils of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortu-

nate and injurious to those adopting them."

CONVERSATIONAL.

"Gold is good, in its place; but living, brave and patriotic men are better than gold."

LETTER TO HON. W. H. SEWARD, JUNE 28, 1862.

"I expect to continue this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsakes me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for this new force (volunteers for the Army of the Potomac), were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard is it to have a thing understood as it really is."

CONVERSATION, IN THE MASON-SLIDELL CASE, DECIDING TO SURRENDER THEM.

"We fought Great Britain for doing just what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain protests against this act and demands their release, we must adhere to our principles of 1812. We must give up these prisoners.

"One war at a time!"

LETTER TO CUTHBERT BULLITT, NEW ORLEANS, JULY 28, 1862.

Concerning men in Louisiana, who refused to take sides for or against the Union, yet demanded the protection of the government:

"They are to touch neither a sail nor a pump-line, merely passengers, ('dead heads' at that), be carried snug and dry through the storm and safely landed, right side up. Nay, more,—even a mutineer is to go untouched, lest these sacred

passengers receive an accidental wound.—What would you do, in my position? Would you drop the war, where it is? Or would you prosecute it, in future, with elder-stalk squirts, charged with rose-water?"

### SPEECH AT SERENADE IN HONOR OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, SEPTEMBER 24, 1862.

"In my position I am environed with difficulties. Yet they are scarcely so great as the difficulties of those who, upon the battle-field, are endeavoring to purchase with their blood and their lives the future happiness and prosperity of the country."

### LETTER TO THOMAS H. CLAY, CINCINNATI, OHIO, OCT. 8, 1862.

"I sincerely wish war was an easier and pleasanter business than

it is, but it does not admit of holidays."

### OF THE SABBATH IN THE ARMY. PROCLAMATION, NOV. 16, 1862.

"The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiments of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity.

"The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperilled, by profanation of the name or the day of the Most High."

### TALK TO CHICAGO DELEGATION, 1862.

"Why, the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more

earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favor their side; for one of our soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, told Senator Wilson, a few days since, that he met nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers."

TO AN ENTHUSIASTIC WESTERN MINISTER, WHO ANNOUNCED TO HIM A "MESSAGE FROM THE LORD" CONCERNING EMANCIPATION. SEPT., 1862.

"If it is, as you say, a message from your Divine Master, is it not odd that the only channel He could send it by was that round-about route by that awfully wicked city of Chicago?"

LETTER TO CARL SCHURZ, NOV. 24, 1862.

"I wish to disparage no one, cer-

tainly not those who sympathize with me, but I must say I need success more than I need sympathy.

SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE, DEC. 1, 1862.

"Our struggle has been, of course, contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its supposed and often exaggerated effects and consequences resulting to those nations themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise."

SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DEC. 1, 1862.

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and

act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then shall we save our country."

TO A WOMAN PREACHER OF THE SOCIETY OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, WHO DELIVERED HER AUTHORITATIVE "TESTIMONY," COMMANDING HIM, IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, TO ABOLISH SLAVERY AND ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS, 1862.

"I have neither time nor disposition to enter into discussion with the Friend, and end this occasion by suggesting for her consideration the question whether, if it be true that the Lord has appointed me to do the work she has indicated,—it is not probable that He would have communicated knowledge of the fact to me as well as to her."

### LETTER TO GEN. JOSEPH HOOKER, JAN. 26, 1863.

"And now, beware of rashness,—beware of rashness!—but, with energy and sleepless vigilance, go forward and give us victories!"

### LETTER TO THE WORKINGMEN OF MANCHESTER, ENG., FEB. 9, 1863.

"A fair examination of history has seemed to authorize a belief that the past action and influence of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have therefore reckoned on the forbearance of nations."

### OPINION OF THE DRAFT ACT, 1863.

"The principle of the draft, which simply is involuntary or enforced service, is not new. It has been practised in all ages of the world. It was well known to the

framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies, at the time they placed in that instrument the provision that 'the Congress shall have power to raise, and support armies.' It had been used just before, in establishing our independence, and it was also used, under the Constitution, in 1812. Wherein is the peculiar hardship now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government, which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?"

LETTER TO GENERAL HOOKER, JUNE 5, 1863.

"In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon

the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear, without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other."

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HOOKER, JUNE 14, 1863.

"If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be slim somewhere. Could you not break him?"

IN RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, JULY, 1863.

"I would like to speak in terms of praise due to the many brave officers and soldiers who have fought in the cause of the Union and liberties of their country, from

the beginning of the war. These are trying occasions, not only in success but for the want of success. I dislike to mention the name of one single officer, lest I might do wrong to those I might forget."

IN CONVERSATION WITH HON. W. D. KELLEY, 1863.

"I am not so sure that we are not in search of a housekeeper (as general of the army). I tell you, Kelley, the successful management of an army requires a good deal of faithful housekeeping. More can be got out of well fed and well cared for men and animals than can be got out of those who are required to make long marches on empty stomachs, and whose strength and cheerfulness are impaired by the failure to distribute proper rations at proper seasons."

### REPLY TO FAULT-FINDERS AT EXECUTIVE MANSION.

"Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had put it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara river on a rope, would you shake the cable, or keep shouting out to him:—'Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stoop a little more—go a little faster, lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south'?—No, you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government are carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across."

LETTER TO JAMES C. CONKLING, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., AUG. 26, 1863.

"Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost."

"SOME KINDS OF POWDER CAN'T BE BURNT BUT ONCE."

"I do the very best I know how, the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

### ADDRESS AT THE FAIR HELD AT THE PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, MARCH 16, 1864.

"This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldiers. For it has been said, all that a man hath will he give for his life; and while all contribute of their substance, the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. The highest merit, then, is due to the soldier. In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and among these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families. And the chief agents in these fairs are the

women of America. I am not accustomed to the language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during the war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America!"

### FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DEC. 6, 1864.

"For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States."

### LETTER TO F. A. CONKLING AND OTHERS, NEW YORK, JUNE 3, 1864, REPLYING TO INVITATION TO ATTEND A MASS MEETING IN HONOR OF GENERAL GRANT.

"While the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him (Gen. Grant) do not prove less than I expected, he and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust at your meeting you will so shape your words that they may turn to men and guns moving to his and their support."

### SPEECH AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 16, 1864.

"War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property and ruined

homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country; it has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that 'the heavens are hung in black.'"

### TO LADIES AT A PRESENTATION OF LEAVES FROM THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD, JAN. 24, 1865.

"I wish you to read, if you have not already done so, the eloquent and truthful words which he (Edward Everett) then spoke of the women of America. Truly, the services they have rendered to the defenders of our country in this perilous time, and are yet rendering, can never be estimated as they ought to be."

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 5, 1865.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the

right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

# OF ASSASSINATION.

THERE were threats of personal violence openly made very soon after Mr. Lincoln's election. Other and even deadlier menaces came to him secretly, or were privately made known to his personal friends. From the day of his arrival in Washington, his mails teemed with letters of a threatening character, but he invariably refused to see them or be informed of their contents. He would not permit himself to know or to think that his service to his country was performed in the constant presence of personal peril. Other people thought of it, however, and tried to guard him, but the idea of assassina-

tion had probably passed out of the minds of all men but the actual assassins themselves when at last the murderous blow so long withheld was given.

COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH, FEB. 27, 1860.

"That affair, (John Brown's raid) in its philosophy corresponds with many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people, till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which results in little more than his own execution."

TO HANNAH ARMSTRONG, CONVERSATION, FEB., 1861.

"Hannah, if they do kill me, I shall never die another death."

TO HIS STEPMOTHER, FEBRUARY, 1861, BEFORE SETTING OUT FOR WASHINGTON.

"No, mamma, they will never do that (assassination). Trust in the Lord and all will be well. We will see each other again."

CONVERSATIONALLY, TO MAJOR CHARLES G. HALPIN, IN WASHINGTON.

"If there were such a plot and they wanted to get at me, no vigilance could keep them out. We are so mixed up in our affairs that no matter what the system established —a conspiracy to assassinate, if such there were, could easily obtain a pass to see me, for one or more of its instruments. . . As to the crazy folks, Major, why, I must only take my chances."

CONVERSATION WITH GEN. B. F. BUTLER, 1863.

"O, assassination of public officers is not an American crime."

# OF TEMPERANCE.

THE rude backwoodsmen and prairie settlers among whom Mr. Lincoln's boyhood and youth were passed, were generally accustomed to the use of intoxicating liquors. It was a striking exhibition of moral courage and independence of character, therefore, that while yet a boy he took vigorous action against the prevailing evil. He taught himself the art of writing and composition, and one of the first uses he made of it was to prepare an argument for temperance which was printed, with hearty approval, by an Indiana newspaper. During his entire professional career, he maintained an

unobtrusive but unyielding opposition to the social use of stimulants, and the silent but powerful influence of his example was continued in the Executive Mansion. If he did not do more or say more in this direction, it may have been because his hands were filled with a work especially belonging to him, and this could safely be left to the hands of others.

TO THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, AT CHICAGO, MAY 16, 1860, TO FORMALLY ANNOUNCE TO MR. LINCOLN HIS NOMINATION. ON RECEIVING THEM, AT SPRINGFIELD ONLY GLASSES OF WATER WERE OFFERED.

"Gentlemen, we must pledge our mutual healths in the most healthy

beverage which God has given to man. It is the only beverage which I have ever used, or allowed in my family, and I cannot conscientiously depart from it on the present occasion. It is pure Adam's ale, from the spring."

TO THE OFFICERS AND GUESTS ON BOARD OF THE MONITOR, INSPECTING HER AND RECEIVING ACCOUNTS OF THE FIGHT WITH THE MERRIMAC A FEW WEEKS AFTER THE BATTLE. THERE WAS NO LIQUOR OFFERED WITH THE REFRESHMENTS.

"Some uncharitable people say that old Bourbon is an indispensable element in the fighting qualities of some of our generals in the field, but, Captain, after the account that we have heard to-day, no one will

say that any Dutch courage is needed on board the *Monitor*."

CONVERSATION, HON. LAWRENCE WELDON, OF ILLINOIS, 1854.

"I do not, in theory, but I do, in fact, belong to the temperance society; in this, to wit, that I do not drink anything, and have not done so for a very many years."

# OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

AS time went on, in the daily endurance of severe trials and the faithful performance of great duties, there came to Mr. Lincoln a distinctly declared development of religious character. He had been reverent, from the first, and even prayerful, but, as the end drew nearer, through all the terrible days of 1864, and the swift weeks given him in 1865, his public and private utterances of belief and trust in God became more frequent aud more fervent. If in his earlier history, before any of these fiery experiences came, he had been open

to the charge of carelessness or semi-skepticism, it was not so now, and no other American statesman has left behind him so full and vigorous a confession of faith.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD ILLS., FEB. 11, 1861, SETTING OUT FOR WASHINGTON.

"Unless the great God, who assisted him, (Washington) shall be with me and aid me, I must fail. If the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now."

TO NEWTON BATEMAN, CONVERSATIONALLY, OCT., 1860.

"I know there is a God and that he hates injustice and slavery. I

see the storm coming and I know that His hand is in it. If he has a place and work for me—and I think he has—I believe I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything. I know I am right because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God."

TO THE QUAKERS OF IOWA, JAN. 5, 1862.

"It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts I have made, and am making, for the restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor, our highest wisdom is but as foolishness, and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure. It seems to me

that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is in imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggle our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty."

### REPLY TO COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE NEW SCHOOL PRESBYTERIANS, MAY, 1863.

"It has been my happiness to receive testimonies of a similar nature from, I believe, all denominations of Christians. . . This to me is most gratifying, because from the beginning I saw that the issues of our great struggle depended on the Divine interposition and favor. . . As a pilot, I have used my best exertions to keep afloat our Ship of State, and shall be glad to resign my trust at the

appointed time to another pilot more skilful and successful than I may prove. In every case and at all hazards, the Government must be perpetuated. Relying as I do on the Almighty power, and encouraged as I am by these resolutions which you have just read, with the support I receive from Christian men, I shall not hesitate to use all means at my control to secure the termination of the rebellion, and will hope for success."

### TO A DEPUTATION FROM ALL THE RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF CHICAGO, SEPT. 13, 1862.

"I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others, on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in

myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter, and if I can learn what it is, I will do it."

LETTER TO REV. ALEXANDER REED, FEB. 22, 1863.

"Whatever shall be, sincerely and in God's name, devised for the good of the soldiers and seamen in their hard spheres of duty, can scarcely fail to be blessed; and whatever shall tend to turn our thoughts from the unreasoning and uncharitable passions, prejudices and jealousies incident to a great national trouble such as ours, and to fix them on the vast and long-enduring consequences, for weal or woe, which are to result from the struggle, and especially to strengthen our reliance on the Supreme Being for the final triumph

of the right, can not but be well for us all."

### TELEGRAPHIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE VICTORY AT GETTYSBURG, JULY 4, 1863.

"The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor; to promise a success to the cause of the Union; and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day He whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered with the profoundest gratitude."

### THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION, OCT. 3, 1863.

"No human council hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked

out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.—It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently acknowledged, as with one heart and voice, by the whole American people."

TO A CLERGYMAN WHO SAID: "I HOPE THE LORD IS ON OUR SIDE."

"I am not at all concerned about that, for I know the Lord is always on the side of the right. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be on the Lord's side."

TO REV. J. T. DURYEA, OF NEW YORK.

"If it were not for my firm belief in an over-ruling Providence, it would be difficult for me, in the

midst of such complications of affairs, to keep my reason in its seat. But I am confident that the Almighty has his plans and will work them out; and whether we see it or not, they will be the wisest and best for us."

LETTER TO MR. A. G. HODGES, FRANKFORT, KY., APRIL 4, 1864.

"In telling this tale, I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events controlled me. Now, at the end of the three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected.

"God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God wills now the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the

South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new causes to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."

### TO A COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1864.

"It may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the rest, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to Heaven, than any other. God bless the Methodist Church! Bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who in this our great trial giveth us the churches."

TO MR. FESSENDEN, URGING HIM TO ACCEPT THE APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY ON THE RESIGNATION OF MR. CHASE,

1864.

"I do not think you have any right to tell me you will not take the place. I believe that the suppression of the rebellion has been decreed by a higher power than any represented by us, and that the Almighty is using his own means to that end. You are one of them. It is as much your duty to accept as it is mine to appoint."

REPLY TO MR. CHITTENDEN, CONVERSATIONALLY, 1864.

"That the Almighty does make use of human agencies and directly intervenes in human affairs, is one of the plainest statements of the Bible. I have had so many evidences of His direction, so many in-

stances when I have been controlled by some other power than my own will, that I cannot doubt that this power comes from above. I frequently see my way clear to a decision when I am conscious that I have no sufficient facts upon which to found it. But I cannot recall one instance in which I have followed my own judgment, founded upon such a decision, where the results have been unsatisfactory; whereas, in almost every instance where I have yielded to the views of others, I have had occasion to regret it. I am satisfied that when the Almighty wants me to do or not to do a particular thing he finds a way of letting me know it."

REPLY TO A LADY FROM TENNESSEE, AUTUMN, 1864.

"You say your husband is a religious man; tell him, when you

meet him, that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to fight and rebel against this government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread on the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to Heaven."

### SPEECH AT A SERENADE, NOV. 9, 1864, ON OCCASION OF HIS SECOND ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY.

"I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for the evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

TO MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH, AUGUST, 1864.

"In taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently, in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence."

RESPONSE TO SERENADE AT WASHINGTON, MAY 13, 1864.

"I will volunteer to say that I am very glad at what has happened, but there is a great deal yet to be done. While we are grateful to all the brave men and officers for the events of the past few days, we should, above all, be very grateful to Almighty God, who gives us victory."

LETTER TO MRS. ELIZA P. GURNEY, SEPT. 30, 1864.

"The purposes of the Almighty are perfect and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war, long before this; but God knows best and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own errors therein; meanwhile we must work earnestly, in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great end He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion which no mortal could make, and no mortal hand could stay. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done and shall do the best I could and can in my own conscience under my oath to the law."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 5, 1865.

"'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!' If we still suppose that American slavery is one of these offences, which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years

of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

# MISCELLANEOUS.

SPEECH AT OTTAWA, ILLS., AUG. 21, 1858.

"IN this and like communities, public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes or decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

LETTER TO THURLOW WEED, MARCH 15, 1865.

"Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, how-

ever, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world.

"It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it."

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, JULY 17, 1858.

"It would be amusing, if it were not disgusting to see how quickly these compromise-breakers administer upon the effects of their dead adversaries, trumping up claims never before heard of, and dividing the assets among themselves. If I should be found dead to-morrow, nothing but my insignificance could prevent a speech being made upon my authority, before the end of next week."

SPEECH, PEORIA, ILLS., AUG., 21, 1858.

"When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least, I find it so with myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him."

COOPER INSTITUTE, FEB. 27, 1859.

"I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress—all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we."

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1861.

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful *establishing* and the successful *administering* of it. One still remains,—its successful *maintenance* against a formidable attempt to overthrow it."

LETTER TO GEN. N. P. BANKS, IN LOUISIANA, AUG. 5, 1863.

"As an anti-slavery man, I have a motive to desire emancipation which pro-slavery men do not have; but even they have strong reason to thus place themselves again under the shield of the Union, and to thus perpetually hedge against the recurrence of the scenes through which we are now passing. . . . For my own part, I think I shall not, in any event, retract the Emancipa-

tion Proclamation; nor, as Executive, ever return to slavery any person who is freed by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress."

TO KANSAS DELEGATION, SEPTEMBER, 1863.

"I am well aware that by many, by some even among this delegation —I shall not name them—I have been in public speeches and in printed documents charged with 'tyranny and wilfulness,' with a disposition to make my own personal will supreme. I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events I shall take care that in my own eyes I do not become one. I have no right to act the tyrant to mere political opponents."

LETTER TO GOV. ANDREW JOHNSON, OF TENNESSEE, SEPT. 11, 1863.

"I see that you have declared in favor of emancipation in Tennessee, for which may God bless you. Get emancipation into your new State government — Constitution — and there will be no such word as fail for your case. The raising of colored troops, I think, will greatly help, every way."

CONVERSATION WITH A FRIEND.

"I am never easy, now, when I am handling a thought, until I have bounded it North, and bounded it South, and bounded it East and bounded it West."

CONVERSATION WITH HON. CASSIUS M. CLAY, 1862.

"Who ever heard of a reformer reaping the reward of his labors in his lifetime!"

"Versatility is an injurious possession, since it never can be greatness. A versatile man, to be safe from execration, should never soar."

LETTER, JUNE 12, 1863, TO CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

"Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that courts of justice are utterly incompetent in such cases."

LETTER TO DEMOCRATS OF OHIO, JUNE 29, 1863.

"You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override

all the guaranteed rights of individuals on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question who shall decide, or an affirmation that nobody shall decide what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion. The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made, from time to time, and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitution, made the Commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the re-

sponsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution."

### LETTER TO HENRY W. HOFFMAN, OF MARYLAND, OCT. 10, 1864.

"I presume the only feature of the instrument (the new Constitution of Maryland) about which there is serious controversy, is that which provides for the extinction of slavery. It needs not to be a secret, and I presume it is no secret, that I wish success to this provision. I desire it on every consideration. I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free, which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see in process of disappearing that only thing

which ever could bring this nation to civil war. I attempt no argument. Argument upon the question is already exhausted."

LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY, OF BOSTON, WHOSE FIVE SONS HAD FALLEN IN BATTLE: NOV. 21, 1864.

"I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

COOPER INSTITUTE ADDRESS, 1860.

"Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances, such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong; vain is the search for a man who

should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule and calling, not the sinners but the righteous to repentance."

TO HON. HORACE GREELEY, NEW YORK, AUG. 22, 1862.

"I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time

destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union, and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union."

SPEECH AT ALTON, ILLS., OCT. 15, 1858.

"Is it not a false statesmanship that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about the very thing that everybody does care the most about?

—a thing which all experience has shown we care a great deal about?"

SPEECH AT COLUMBUS, O., SEPT., 1859.

"I avoid doing so (fighting a fallacy) upon this principle—that if it were important for me to pass out of this lot in the least period of time possible, and I came to that fence and saw by a calculation of my known strength and agility that I could clear it at a bound, it would be folly for me to stop and consider whether I could or not crawl through a crack."

SPEECH AT GALESBURG, ILLS., OCT. 7, 1858.

"He could not denounce the doctrine of kings and monarchies in Russia, and it may be true of this country, that in some places we may not be able to proclaim a doctrine as clearly true as the truth of

Democracy, because there is a section so directly opposed to it that they will not tolerate us in doing so. Is it the true test of the soundness of a doctrine, that in some places the people will not let you proclaim it? Is that the way to test the truth of any doctrine?"

"Whatever motive a man or set of men may have for making annexation of property or territory (to the nation) it is very easy to assert, much less easy to disprove, that it is necessary for the wants of the country."

CONVERSATION WITH W. H. HERNDON, 1850.

"How hard, oh, how hard it is to die, and leave one's country no better than if one had never lived for it! The world is dead to hope, deaf to its own death-struggle, made

known by a universal cry. What is to be done? Is anything to be done? Who can do anything? And how is it to be done? Did you ever think of these things?"

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLS., JUNE 17, 1859.

"We did this (organized the party) under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through.

OTTAWA SPEECH, AUG. 21, 1858.

"My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and

sound judgment is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded."

SPEECH AT FREEPORT, AUG. 27, 1858.

"I can conceive it possible for men to conspire to do a good thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas's course or arguments that is contrary to or inconsistent with his belief of a conspiracy to nationalize and spread slavery as a good and blessed thing."